RRR
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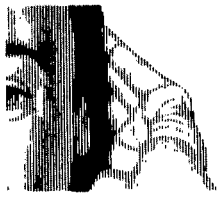
# The Vital Importance of Separation

## by Murray N. Rothbard

The brutal massacre at Hebron in late February was as fascinating for the inappropriate responses of the Israeli and U.S. authorities as for the dramatic nature of the act itself. The initial response of the Israeli government was the traditional reaction in matters of this sort: to blame it all on one lone, "deranged" nut, in this case Dr. Baruch Goldstein. But this first reaction fell through quickly when it turned out that, however nutty, Dr. Goldstein was scarcely alone: that he was, in fact, the leader in Hebron of the "Kachniks," the movement founded by the notorious Brooklyn Rabbi, the late Meir Kahane, which is now split into the Kach ("the way") Party and the smaller and even more fanatic Kahane Chai ("Kahane lives.") The loneness was further called into question when the Kachniks praised Goldstein's mass murder of Arabs while kneeling in prayer in their mosque, and mourned the "martyrdom" of Goldstein, who was beaten to death by the enraged remnant of those of his victims who had managed to remain alive. World-wide television spread the remarkable comment of Rabbi Yaacov Perrin, at the Goldstein eulogy, a comment that was repeated by various of the mourners: "One million Arab lives are not worth one Jewish fingernail!"

It also turned out that elements of the Israeli army may have connived at the massacre, either by participating in the shooting itself, or by aiding and abetting the slaughter. We are supposed to be assured that an Israeli government investigation will get to the bottom of this issue. At any rate, we *do* know that Israeli soldiers shot at Arabs fleeing from the mosque, and that they killed many Arab rioters in ensuing days of protest. And despite talking tough at the Kachniks, it is still true, as the Palestinians have pointed out, that the Israeli army and police *only* use live ammunition when dealing with Arabs, never with Jews.

*(Cont. page 3, col. 1)*



# THE EAR

## by Sarah Barton

The Ear hears that the real motive for bumping off Vince Foster was his pending nervous breakdown, and his longtime role as Slick Willie's cocaine connection. Given all the cocaine running through the Mena, Arkansas, airport when Clinton was governor, and his protection of the dirty business, Vince would have made a mighty interesting witness. A person in the know, by the way, says that political murders are not exactly unheard of in Arkansas politics.

Also, by the way: a knowledgeable doctor says that Willie has the swollen, reddish nose of the cokehead, and that the resultant nasal drainage

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*(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)*
can cause perennial hoarseness and occasional voice loss. No wonder he wouldn't release his medical records!

*****

Is it a coincidence that Vince Foster was rubbed out the day after Slick Willie fired Judge Sessions as head of the FBI, leaving the agency leaderless and punchy, and thereby not resisting the routing of the death investigation to the heroes of the Park Police?

*****

What happens when a neocon tool forgets his place? He has to crawl, of course. So Ken Tomlinson, editor of the *Reader's Digest*, wrote a sweaty letter about John Podhoretz in the January *American Spectator* to apologize for not including Poddy Jr.'s book, *Hell of a Ride*, at the top of his recommended reading lists.

*Hell*, says Ken, is a "great leap from page to page," especially (heh, heh) the "settling of scores." Then, when he "read the book a second time"!, he "experienced some of the best writing anyone is going to encounter between hard covers." Sure you did, Ken.

Ken, by the way, claims credit for the *Reader's Digest's* vicious hit on Ollie North. But, as in all these affairs, he is rumored merely to have transmitted the order, which–now that I think of it–might have come from Norman.

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Also vociferously opposing Ollie North is Norman's repellent son-in-law Elliot Abrams. What else do we need to know? Go Ollie!

*****

Things just keep getting worse. Kurt Andersen, the new editor at lively *New York* magazine, has kicked out the scintillating free-market business writer, Christopher Byron, and replaced him with the obnoxious neocon Hollywood screenwriter, Ben Stein. When he is not recording his life and exploits, Stein spends a lot of space hailing the greatness of his papa, obnoxious Keynesian "free-market" economist Herb Stein. Even worse, *New York's* national political columnist, John Taylor, who launched the expose of "political correctness" and who had followed previous editor Ed Kosner to *Esquire*, is replaced by the unspeakable Jacob Weisberg, now at the *New Republic*. Weisberg was arguably the most hate-ridden of the anti-anti-Semitic smearbund who savaged Pat Buchanan when he ran for President.

*****

Fostergate Coverup: In every coverup, there is an Official Line. As embarrassing questions are raised, the Establishment prepares a series of Fallback positions which it can trot out if and to the extent that the Official Line becomes untenable.

As the Line that Nussbaum & Co. removed the Whitewater files from Foster's office on July 22 got shot down with the truth that the removal took place on the day of his killing, July 20, an embarrassing point arose. For it turns out that the White House did not hear about the discovery of Foster's body from the police until 9:15 P.M. But if Nussbaum et al removed the Whitewater files on that day, then the conclusion arose that if, as seemed likely, they took the file during normal working hours, this means that they removed the files *before the body was officially discovered and reported.* As the horrendous implications of this point began to sink in, the White House quickly added that Nussbaum and the others removed the files from Foster's office between 10 P.M. and midnight of July 20. Technologically possible, no doubt, but is it *likely* that Nussbaum and his merry crew were roaming around the White House in the middle of the night? (Remember: Washington is an Early Town, featuring power breakfasts.)

Next, the *New York Post's* findings about the body casts enormous doubt on Foster's "suicide" in Fort Marcy Park. *The Ear* hears that the Establishment is preparing a Fallback on this one, which has not yet surfaced: that Foster committed suicide *in the White House* and his body was then moved by the White



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House to Fort Marcy Park to spare the Clinton Administration from embarrassment!

Whether this Fallback will actually be trotted out is problematic. Even if it saved the "suicide" legend, it would surely bring down Impeachment of the Clintonian head anyway.

*****

Calling Pat Robertson and Cardinal O'Connor! I'm not a Christian, but I'd still like to know why you and other Christian leaders haven't spoken out. Or am I the only one outraged by the anti-Christian films played continuously in the U.S. Holocaust Museum at American taxpayer expense?

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Joe Sobran asks why our enemies bother to write essays and books attacking us. Why don't they save time by calling us SHARX? (Sexists, Homophobic, Anti-Semitic, Racist Xenophobes.) Gee, I can hear the theme from *Jaws* now. ■

(**SEPARATION** *cont. from pg. 1)*

The fallback position of the Israeli government was to deliver abundant expressions of regret and of shame, as well as angry denunciations of the evil Kachniks. Coupled with this verbiage was an insistence, backed fully by the Clinton Administration, on the alleged importance of immediate resumption of the beloved "peace process." Not mentioned was the fact that the "process" had already foundered on the fact that, while the Israeli troops were supposed to be out of Jericho and the Gaza Strip by Dec. 13, they were still there, and in fact their numbers had even increased.

**The Arabs have always been disarmed, while the Zionist settlers stroll among them armed to the teeth.**

The Palestinians were all too aware of the emptiness of these gestures of shame and anger by Israel. Talk is cheap; as we say in New York, *that* and $1.25 will get you on the subway. Despite all the talk of moving against the Kachniks, in fact only a half-dozen have been proscribed by the government, and only one is actually in jail. The rage of the Palestinian Arabs is unbounded; even the usually passive Arabs of Israel proper have rioted against Israel; and even the traditionally pro-Israel Bedouin Arabs are talking about resigning from the Israeli Army. You know that matters are serious when Farouk Khadoumi, the "foreign minister" of the PLO, and a man who has always been an ultra-moderate, refused Arafat's call to meet at Tunis because he didn't want even the hint of implication in a possible resumption of peace negotiations.

The Palestinian call for disarming the settlers is understandable, especially because the Arabs have always been disarmed, while the Zionist settlers stroll among them armed to the teeth. But gun control is not going to work, in Israel or here: sterner measures must be taken. The problem, moreover, is not simply the fanatics of the Kach or of the Hebron settlement of Qiryat Arba, dominated by the Kachniks. It is superficial to concentrate on the Kachniks, and to dismiss them as "criminals" and "murderers." Criminals and murderers they surely are, but we must realize that the Kachniks are merely carrying out, more consistently than their Likudnik colleagues, the Zionist dream of a "Jewish state" in the lands allegedly "given" to them by God several millennia in the past. To these "hard," or consistent, Zionists, the areas designated for a Jewish State are all the lands allegedly governed by Jews at some point in the Bible, and they include the now heavily



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Arab "West Bank," which the Zionists designate as "Judea" and "Samaria." The State is also supposed to include the Golan Heights plus a larger chunk of southwestern Syria, as well as the now Jordanian "East Bank" of the Jordan River.

If we take off our blinders, it should be stunningly obvious that what we have in the entire Israeli region are two absolutely irreconcilable claims, an irreconcilability that applies equally well to Israel Proper as it does to the occupied West Bank. On the one hand, there are the Palestinian Arabs, who have tilled the soil or otherwise used the land of Palestine for centuries; and on the other, there are a group of external fanatics, who come from all over the world, and who claim the entire land area as "given" to them as a collective religion or tribe at some remote and possibly legendary time in the past. There is no way the two claims can be resolved to the satisfaction of both parties. There can be no genuine settlement, no true "peace" in the face of this irrepressible conflict; there can be either a war to the death, or an uneasy practical compromise which can satisfy no one. That is the harsh reality of the Middle East.

**What we have in the entire Israeli region are two absolutely irreconcilable claims.**

It should also be clear that this compromise cannot be "multicultural" and cannot rest on the Utopian dream of all parties and groups living together in multi-religious and multi-ethnic peace and harmony. From the irreconcilable conflict has come inevitable mutual hatred, and no propaganda by liberal or neo-con pundits or by United Nations proclamations, can change this reality by one iota. It is the tragedy of the PLO that it has always rested on multicultural ideals. What it has always desired, as a replacement for the "Zionist entity," is one secular, democratic nation that guarantees full ethnic and religious freedom to Arab, Jew, Muslim, and Christian alike. In a profound sense, the PLO was the other side of the coin of our liberal/neocon pundits who are always prating about "global democracy", "majority rule" and "minority rights." It should be obvious that this sort of rule, if it can work at all, can only work if there is a consensus of good will and of underlying agreement that bind all these groups and nationalities. If not, and increasingly it becomes obvious that this sort of multicultural harmony exists almost nowhere in the world, then there must be group, ethnic, or national separation. "Majority rule" can only work in a territorial area that genuinely harbors "one nation;" but if there is more than one nation in a given land area, unless they are separated and move to their own separate land areas, eternal war and slaughter, permanent "ethnic cleansing," can be the only result. That is why, once Communism collapsed, there could no longer be one "Yugoslavia" incorporating ethnic and religious groups that have hated each other's guts for centuries; Yugoslavia was never one nation, but many nations, and there can only be harmony if these nations separate and go their own ways. Sure, they can eventually have free trade amongst them, as well as other forms of peaceful cooperation; but *first*, the independent sovereignties of each nation must be established, each on their own land area.

And so, in the West Bank, the problem is not simply the Kachnik "extremists"; it is all the 130,000 Zionist settlers who dwell in permanent disharmony with the 2,000,000 Arabs of the West Bank. These settlements were explicitly ideological; in other words, under the Likudniks but before that even under the Labor government, these settlers were, and felt them-



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selves to be, the vanguard of the eventual Zionization of the West Bank. The fact that only a small minority wish to go out and slaughter Arabs is almost beside the point. Furthermore, "disarming" the settlers is absurd and cannot be done; the settlements have to be dismantled and the settlers expelled from the West Bank. Otherwise, the "process" will bring no peace.

Hence, the Palestinian bringing up of the problem of the settlers in the wake of the massacre, and the Israeli refusal, amidst the smokescreen of denunciations of the Kachniks, to so much as discuss the settlers, since *that* discussion is supposed to come many years in the future. Rubbish! The good that has come from the Hebron massacre is that the problem of the settlers will have to be discussed and resolved now, otherwise Arafat and his peace-process crew will quickly find their corpses riddled with bullets by their outraged countrymen.

### Two Kinds of Multiculturalism

The *bizarreries* of ultra-left "multiculturalism" have obscured the fact that there are two different varieties of this ideological aberration. One is the ultra-left lunacy that all cultures and groups whatever are superior to the hated oppressors: the white, male, Christian Euro-culture. But there is another, far more respectable variant of multiculturalism which is constantly pushed as sacred and Beyond Criticism by the left-liberal/neocon/Official Con Establishment: the "democratic" ideal of all groups and cultures living together in "integrated" harmony. To these dystopian ideologues, the United States is only the first "universal nation", to be globalized throughout the world. The point is that this ideal is just as dystopian and just as hostile to human nature as is the more obviously ludicrous and destructive leftist variant.

Apart from the special case of the United States, no other country has been in any sense multicultural or multinational. Every nation has enjoyed a homogeneous, and therefore successfully harmonious, cultural and ethno-national base. This does not mean, of course, that every single resident of say, Sweden, must be ethnically and culturally Swedish. But it does mean that beyond a certain tipping point, an infusion of heterogeneous elements into the Swedish mix will begin to tear the nation asunder. Beyond a small quantity, national heterogeneity simply does not work, the "nation" disintegrates into more than one nation, and the need for separation becomes acute.

**Beyond a small quantity, national heterogeneity simply does not work.**

Note that recognizing the vital importance of separation of national groups itself bears no implication that one or the other group is "superior" to the other. To say that too many Swedes pouring into Finland, or vice versa, will bring about a destructive combustion and cannot work, clearly does not imply that either the Swedes or Finns are superior or morally more virtuous. It is just that they are different, a different nationality, and each should be able to possess and enjoy their own ethno-cultural home base, where each can speak its own language, and pursue its own values and mores undisturbed.

### The Bosnian Mess

The Bosnian mess is caused, as we have reiterated many times, *not* by "nationalism" and ethnic cleansing, but by the misguided and counter-productive attempt, either by one of the nations or by outside busybodies, to impose a multicultural solution on peoples whose hatred for each other was imbibed with



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their mothers' milk. At first, the Serbs, who dominated the former Yugoslavia from its inception after World War I, tried to maintain their old "imperial" hegemony over the other national entities. The United States, its foreign policy long dedicated to compulsory world multiculturalism, at first lined up to endorse the "territorial integrity of Yugoslavia." When the Slovenes and Croats displayed the courage to break loose from imperial Yugoslavia, and the magnificent Slovenes held off the aggression of the mighty Yugoslav (Serbian) army, "Yugoslavia" fell apart, and high time too. At that point, the Serbs intelligently decided to cut their losses, and gave up multinational integrationism in behalf of genuine Serb nationalism. As a result, Serbian guerrillas, aided by the Serb and "Yugoslav" army, began to carve out Serbian national areas in lands inhabited by Serbs, coming to dominate the one-third of Croatia that is ethnically Serb ["Krajina"], and the areas of Bosnia—never a nation or nationality in any sense—that are Serb into a Bosnian Serb republic. The Croats, at first allied with the Muslims because of a yen to get back the Krajina, themselves finally adopted the sensible policy of carving out ethnically Croat areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina, essentially the old province of Herzegovina, and set up their Herzegovian Croat republic.

No sooner had the Serbs given up imperial dominance for nationalism, however, than the great champion of compulsory multinationalism, the United States, turned savagely on its ancient allies the Serbs, and clasped to its bosom the only ethnic group remaining who wanted "multiethnic" domination over others, the Bosnian Muslims. Employing the multi-cultural gambit, the Muslims were easily able to suck in the U.S. to support the "territorial integrity" of the great, if previously non-existent, nation of Bosnia. All the subsequent wailing and gnashing of teeth about Sarajevo and the "innocent" Muslims under siege of Serbian guns, ignores the fact that the Muslims and their beloved Sarajevo could have had peace a long time ago if they had been willing to settle for ethnic partition according to the guerrilla conquests on the spot in Bosnia—more or less an approach to ethnic justice. The wailing also ignores the fact that the Bosnian Serbs *have* to use artillery, because that is their only weapon against the more numerous infantry of the Muslims.

**The Muslims and their beloved Sarajevo could have had peace a long time ago.**

When it finally looked as if the Serbs would wind up with their own nation in Bosnia, the U.S., instead of getting out while the getting was good, dreamed up a brand new multicultural idea: an imposed "mini" multi-ethnic state consisting of some sort of cockamamie "federation" of Croats and Muslims. The Muslims, if they didn't dream up this kooky plan, took to it like a duck takes to water: for it is the only way of getting more territory from the Croats, including an "outlet to the sea" on the Adriatic, a port that is Croat but has to be handed over to the Muslims. Why did the Croats sit still and surrender to this U.S. imposed scheme? Under a thinly veiled threat that if the Croats refused, the US/UN/NATO would bring Croatia up on charges of war crimes, aggression, ethnic cleansing or what have you, and use force to deprive them of their just territory. So the Croats, clearly made of less stern stuff than the Serbs, knuckled under. But don't bet your life on this crazy Croat-Muslim shotgun marriage under the guns of Papa Clinton lasting beyond a very brief "honeymoon."



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### South Africa

But, the multiethnic integrationists will retort to the above argument: aren't you calling for "*apartheid*"? The very invocation of this dread word is supposed to end the discussion, and carry the day, so discredited has the outgoing South African system been made to appear by many years of frenetic propaganda. This propaganda has been beamed at us by the entire spectrum of Respectable, and even not so Respectable, American opinion. From Commie and loony Left to Left-Liberal to neocon to Official Con, all have agreed that the South African regime was the quintessence of evil, so much so that any cautionary word was dismissed as *ipso facto* "racist." [Somehow, the Establishment in this case was not able to work in the rest of the Holy Litany: sexists, anti-Semitic, homophobic, logist, et al.]

South Africa has had a complex history, which can only be inadequately summarized here. In the first place, the aggravated racial problem entered the scene, not with the sturdy agrarian Boer Republic, but with the advent, as has often happened, of British imperialism. There is a great difference between "imperialism" and "colonialism". The Boers were not instruments of a Dutch Empire; they were colonists settling in the wide expanses of South Africa and farming its rich soil. All they wanted to do was to be left alone. No so British imperialism. Lured by the prospects of gold and diamonds, the British government, propelled by Cecil Rhodes and his ally the Rothschilds, repeatedly aggressed against and conquered the Boers. Rather than live their own separate lives in their own culture, the British needed to coerce large supplies of black labor to work the gold and diamond mines. The large-scale pattern of racial domination was the product, not of the reviled Boers, but of the "liberal" and "good-guy" Brits. The system of legal apartheid, too, began when British workers, led by the Communist Party of South Africa after World War I, went on a general strike to force black workers out of being foremen and skilled craftsmen and back down into the ranks of the unskilled.

As the white civilization developed, and the Afrikaners (Boers) finally took control of South Africa from the British, they were faced with a crucial choice: whether to continue the pattern of racial domination by means of State laws, or to *really* bring about apartheid, that is, true separation of the races, so that each totally dissimilar ethnic and racial group could separate and go their own ways undisturbed. South African premier Hendrik Verwoord worked out a plan for what he called "Grand Apartheid"—that is, genuine separation—which would have ended the pattern of racial domination in "Petit Apartheid". However, Verwoord was mysteriously assassinated—naturally by a "lone nut"—and the Nationalist Party remained in the hands of the petit apartheid "moderates".

Quite apart from any moral problems, the trouble with petit apartheid is that in the long run it cannot be sustained: that is, in the long run a small racial or ethnic minority *cannot* maintain a dominance over a large majority. And this is what happened in South Africa. After Grand Apartheid was abandoned, a combination of growing revolutionary, Communist-led consciousness among the blacks, aided by fierce US/UN sanctions and boycotts, finally persuaded the Afrikaners to give it up, fall on their sword, and surrender to left-wing, black majority rule.

And yet, the only hope right now, for liberty, prosperity, or any shred of civilization in South Africa is the adoption of Grand Apartheid: a partitioning of South Africa into the various separate cultural and ethnic groups: not just cantonization, but separate sovereign nations in the territory of the exiting Union of South Africa. So far, only the Afrikaner "extremists" of the Conservative Party and further right are calling for partition into separate nations, along with the heroic Zulu nation, which, in contrast to the majority of blacks [tribally Khosas] is tribal, conservative, and free-market



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oriented. At present writing, the right-wing Afrikaners and the Zulus are boycotting the election, and are grouped into the aptly-named Freedom Alliance.

Why does the majority African National Congress fiercely reject any idea of partition? Why do they retort by invoking the absurd idea of the "indivisible nation" and the "territorial integrity" of the Union of South Africa, when this country was never a "nation" but a bastard product of British imperialism ruling over a myriad of different and clashing nations? Why must there be majority rule *in the one territory* of the Union of South Africa?

The real reason, of course, is that the ANC ranges over the tiny spectrum from Socialist to Communist, and they want and need a unitary nation so they can loot and plunder the successful white minority. That is the long and short of it. One nation and its "territorial integrity" is a requisite for organized theft and plunder on a grand scale, a process that will eradicate the prosperous economy and civilization that the South Africans have built.

Is a genuine apartheid solution "racist"? But what sort of ideologues combine together two very different doctrines: racial domination, and racial separation, and call them both "racist"? Why is it "racist" to want to be left alone?

### The Good Old USA

Across the entire globe, we are left with only one nation where ethnic blending and multiculturalism, where the "melting pot" or the "gorgeous mosaic," seems to have worked: the good old US of A. Our Mensheviks and global democrats always and inevitably fall back on the U.S. as their model. If it can work here, why not anywhere or everywhere else?

The proper answer is a blend of two basic points: (1) American Exceptionalism. There were unique historical conditions here that differed from other countries and allowed the multicultural experiment to work. And (2) America was never all *that* multicultural, and even to the extent that the experiment did work, it is now increasingly falling apart.

In the first place, in contrast to European nations, we began on a vast new Continent that was truly an "empty land." (All right, there were some Indians around, but, compared to the extent of the land, they didn't amount to very much.) A crucial point about America (or at least North America) is its vast land area in contrast to what originally was almost no people. Even now, the U.S. is far less densely populated [measured by people per acre] than Europe. And so, emigrating to a vast, productive, and empty land, different ethnic and religious groups could settle happily in different parts of America and not get into each others' hair. Agricultural patterns were, from the beginning, very different. In Europe, where land has always been the scarce factor of production, farmers were anxious to maximize the yield per acre, to engage in "intensive" agriculture. In North America, in contrast, land was plentiful and labor was the scarce factor, and so farmers were more interested in "extensive" agriculture, in maximizing yield per person. But by the turn of the 20th century, as the great land area of the United States began to fill up, and the "frontier," in the famous phrase, "was closed," immigration and population growth began to generate problems and conflicts. Americans began to rub each other the wrong way.

But there is also another crucial point, as was developed in the remarkable work on colonial American history by David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed*. The founding colonies of North America, the groups that came here in the 17th and 18th centuries, all came from different regions of one country: England, or Britain to get more technical. They were very different, in their religion, their mores and folkways, their culture, their ideologies. They came from different regions of Britain and they each settled in different regions of North America. The Puritans came from East Anglia and settled in New England; the Cavaliers came from southern England ("Wessex") and colonized the tidewater



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South; and the Scotch-Irish came from the Border areas of England and Scotland and settled in the great backcountry of north (at least as north as Pennsylvania), west and south. And even though these groups all hated each other and differed mightily on many issues, they all came from Britain, and they were all imbued with the same foundation of British culture. Not just the English language, though that is important, but also the ideologies, values, and institutions descended from Britain: the liberty of the individual and the family, limited government, parliamentary institutions, trial by jury, the rule of law, and all the rest. And we should not overlook one or another form of Protestant Christianity among these key formative influences.

**Every immigrant and immigrant child happily formed himself into a higher identity, of being an "American."**

Not only that: it was these three groups of Brits (plus a smaller group, the Quakers, who came from the English Midlands and settled in the Philadelphia-Southern New Jersey area) who fought the great Revolution against Britain, who founded independent sovereign state republics, and who formed the American Constitution. In a deep sense, the Founding Fathers were not just the genuine heroes who made Revolution and who argued about the Constitution; they were all the generations of American settlers who set the framework and institutions of America for the first two centuries of American existence.

So this meant that when later immigrant groups began to pour into this vast and free country, to find freedom and make their future, they were not all equal and starting from scratch. When Germans and Irish and Scandinavians, when Lutherans and Catholics, came to the United States, they adapted to, assimilated into, a dominant set of institutions and values and culture that had already been established by the founding generations of colonial America. That assimilation was less than a "melting pot" but considerably more than a "mosaic." These varied groups assimilated, first and foremost, to the English language, but more than that, they assimilated into the guiding values, mores, institutions and principles of the founding British American Republic. It was less than a melting pot because none of these ethnic or religious groups were expected to submerge their identity into one homogeneous blob. But it was far more than a mosaic, because every immigrant was expected to and actually became what used to be called, with pride, "an American." Being an American meant an abiding respect for American institutions embodying what were seen as American principles: love of liberty, of thrift and hard work, a respect for private property, and a belief that government must be strictly limited or else we would descend into despotism and tyranny.

And that too is what made America work so well. While keeping their own ethnic and religious identity, every immigrant and immigrant child happily formed himself into a higher identity, of being an "American," in which the American nation, unique among countries, was not an identification with one's tribe, religion, or ethnic group, but loyalty to a set of principles and customs founded by Brits and adopted by others, which made up "America." America was more than a tribal group but much less than the "universal national idea" trumpeted by neocons and global democrats. This America was profoundly libertarian but it was far more than the instantiation of an abstract idea. It was liberty embedded in a set of institu-



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tions, and customs, a set of people, that made liberty work. Unlike an abstract idea, a liberty embedded in culture and institutions is not easily transplanted to other lands. And unlike an abstract idea, the Old American Republic was something which millions of people loved, for which millions of people were willing to fight and die.

### Separation?

Unfortunately, it is evident that the assimilation process has increasingly broken down in the twentieth century. There was little trouble, during the nineteenth century, in assimilating Europeans, but as the quantity and variety of immigrants expanded, the assimilation process began to collapse. Partly it was a problem of sheer quantity, partly it was the types of immigrants of later decades. First Europeans, and then Africans, non-Spanish Latin Americans and Asians began to swamp and overwhelm the original British framework necessary to maintaining the Old Republic.

**We must face the fact that we are no longer one nation.**

We must face the fact that more and more we are no longer one nation. In a famous phrase during his leftist period, John Dos Passos wrote, in *USA*, "all right, we are two nations." We are now probably a lot more than two nations, and we had better start giving serious thought to national separation. To those who think that the main problem is restricting the number and types of immigration, the best answer is that such a policy is decades too late. We are already far more than one nation within the borders of the U.S.A., let alone worry about immigrants. To greet the very raising of such questions with the mindless cry of "racism" or "chauvinism" misses the entire point. To close one's eyes, to "deny," in current psycho-babble, the existence of critical problems can only lead to disaster. We might not be able any longer to bring back the Old Republic across that entire land area of the 50 states. But we may be able to bring it back in a substantial part of that land area.

Certainly, the matter is worth serious pondering and discussion. Above all, we must throw over the frozen categories of thought ram-med into us by our ruling elites, and think hard about where we are and what we can do about it. We must dare to think the unthinkable before we can succeed at any of our noble and far-reaching goals. ■

## The Foster Body and The Park Police

**by Murray N. Rothbard**

Among the entire mass of American media, only one man has bothered to investigate the mysterious shooting death of White House counsel Vincent Foster. We have already brought you findings of heroic young *New York Post* journalist, Christopher Ruddy, whose reports ripped open the Foster case and helped lead directly to the Fiske special counsel investigation. (*RRR*, March.)

Now, Ruddy reveals, from FBI sources and corroborated by a Park Police source, some incredible blunders committed by the Park Police in their investigation of the Foster killing. (*New York Post*, March 7).

First and foremost: the Park Police failed to take a photo of the crime-scene Foster body before it was moved. Not only do all of us know from crime movies that the first task of the police is to photograph a body before it is moved, but, far more important, all the authorities agree, standard police practice dictates that such crime-scene photographs be taken when-



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ever there is a death by accident, suicide, or homicide. Yet this wasn't done. An FBI source said that: "photographs should have been taken of Foster before his body was moved, and of his car, and of the relative positions of each." Vernon Geberth, author of the authoritative book on "Practical Homocide Investigation," told Ruddy that "I can't believe it," when told that such photos were not taken. "If this is true," said Geberth, "this is the most sloppy death investigation I have ever heard of." Retired FBI forensic expert on homicides, Robert Ressler, commented: "It's unspeakable. I can't imagine any competent investigator would not take crime-scene photographs."

Other alleged Park Police failures:

—*To test Foster's shoes for residue*. A member of the Fairfax County Fire and Rescue squad has told Ruddy that Foster's shoe bottoms were "very clean," and this was corroborated by FBI sources. But: if Foster had walked in Fort Marcy Park before he got to the "suicide" spot, his shoe bottoms would have had soil residue on them. No residue or "very clean" shoe bottoms, would indicate that Foster did not walk in the park at all before he died. Instead his body must have been *carried to the spot* after his death. Failure to take a residue test means that we may never know for sure.

—*To make impressions of footprints in the area around Foster's body.* If such impressions had been made, we would know if Foster was alone, or if others had carried him to the site where his body was discovered.

—*To make fiber sweeps of Foster's clothes and Foster's car*. The clothes and the car, crime-scene experts declare, should have been vacuumed for trace evidence. That, too, would have told us if Foster's body had been carried, *and* if someone other than Foster had driven the car to the parksite.

A Park Police spokesman refused comment on these charges.

The crucial question, clearly, is this: Are we to believe that the Park Police, despite its lack of expertise in homicides, is *all that* incompetent or imbecilic? Or, did they actually take these steps, and were their results so uncomfortable for the White House that they are being suppressed, with the Park Police forced to take the fall?

Clearly, we need a detailed, thorough investigation, including, on principles we have long advocated for *any* mysterious White House death from William Henry Harrison all the way to Jack Kennedy, that the body must be exhumed, and a new autopsy taken. Exhume, exhume!

Robert Fiske, Jr. has tried to keep the Foster autopsy report from being made public, as well as to squelch a Congressional investigation of Whitewater. Even if we set aside our qualms temporarily and agree that Fiske will be truly independent of the White House and of Janet Reno, we have a trade-off to make here. On the one hand we could keep a lid on everything for umpteen months or years (Fiske is reported to have taken out a *three-year* lease on offices in Little Rock), and allow the Clinton Presidency to go undisturbed about its appointed task of bringing socialism to the United States. In that way, we would not jeopardize any criminal investigations of the Clintonians. On the other hand, we could keep the heat on, encourage any and all investigations, including Congressional ones, abort the Clintonian march to socialism, and move rapidly toward that glorious, won- derful day of Impeachment, which is now becoming ever more thinkable.

To put it another way, we could put the whole thing off for a year or two or three, to increase the prospect of a possible criminal trial and conviction of Bill and Hillary. Or on the other hand, we could press ahead right now, and move quickly toward impeachment, at the cost of the Clintons avoiding jail terms.

To me the choice is clear: Better a wonderful bird in the hand, than the dim prospect of two birds at some future date. *Carpe diem*, seize the moment! The idea of Clintons in the hoosegow may be soul-satisfying, but it is far more important for the country and



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for all of us to get them out now, as fast as possible. Better the Clintons walking freely around the streets of Little Rock than having them in the White House for one minute more than is absolutely necessary.

And remember: Clinton has already shown a remarkable capacity to come back off the floor and recoup. Best to go for a quick knockout and prevent any resurrection of the detestable "Comeback Kid." And besides we all know that to get rid of a vampire permanently, a wooden stake has to be driven through his heart. Putting the pressure on and going for quick impeachment would be the equivalent of driving that stake. ■

## Russia's Triumph at Sarajevo

**by M. N. R.**

In one of the most brilliant foreign-policy coups in many a moon, Russian President Boris Yeltsin roused himself in late February from his habitual drunken stupor to put over a sparkling fast one on Bill Clinton and the sinister forces of US-UN Social-Democratic imperialism. In a lightning-fast master-stroke, Boris Yeltsin may have saved the beleaguered Serbs and saved all of us from the New World Order.

The massed forces of social imperialism and "global democracy," stretching the entire mini-spectrum from Tony Lewis of the *New York Times* on "the Left" to Bill Safire, the neocons, and Ariel Cohen of the Heritage Foundation on "the Right," had been hysterically pushing and pulling a reluctant Bill Clinton to annihilate the Serbs, this year's candidate for demonization and "Hitlerite aggression," in order to punish them for existential evil and to save the bacon of this year's allegedly gentle and lovable Victim Group, the Bosnian Muslims. CNN sent its malignant cameras, point-men for US armed intervention, to show exploding mortars and sobbing Muslim women in Sarajevo, with the ubiquitous Christiane Amanpour of CNN wailing her elegies for the Muslim victims and wondering why justice had not yet struck the Satanic Serbs.

CNN sent its malignant cameras, point-men for US armed intervention.

American military intervention needs an Incident to prod the emotional American masses into using force, and thus to override the sensible objections of military men, who have kept warning about an impossible quagmire in trying to root Serb mortars out of the wooded mountains. The bloodthirsty American pundits, safe in their plush armchairs in Washington, keep calling for air strikes ("Bomb! Kill!") singing the usual siren song that of course no American ground troops are contemplated. The war hawks are smart enough to know that they are lying through their teeth: that once air strikes have begun, and, inevitably, they are not successful, and indeed the Serbs are even more warlike than before, that then "we have to make the air strikes credible" by bombing military depots, and then Belgrade, and pretty soon there are hundreds of thousands of American troops in Bosnia and Serbia battling the Serbs yard by yard, and getting chopped up in the process. The armchair war hawks, of course, don't get chopped up. They keep thirsting for escalating the slaughter, and Christiane Amanpour and the CNN photographers, having accomplished their appointed task, are safely out of the battle zone and preparing the way for the horror photos for the next U.S. intervention.

The requisite incident was



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provided by the mortar shelling of Sarajevo square, killing a few dozen Muslims. Everyone assumed, without evidence, that it *must* have been the Serbs who did the shelling, even though it was never proven, and even though it was admitted that the area from which the mortars were launched was dotted with both Serbian and Bosnian mortars. The idea that perhaps the Bosnian Muslims did the mortaring themselves in order to manufacture an incident and bring world-wide hysteria down upon the Serbs—this very plausible idea was quickly dismissed as, of course, an example of "a conspiracy theory of history."

And so Slick Willie, the Monster from Little Rock, finally allowed himself to be roused into action, NATO was wheeled into position, the UN was lined up, and then Clinton hurled his threats: air strikes against the Serbs if they don't move their guns out of the Sarajevo area, or put them under UN control.

The Menshevik War Hawks believed that at last they were getting Their War, The Serbs would be crushed, their leaders subject to War Crimes Trials, and the New World Order would be in business. And then, as the deadline approached, and Clinton got into the swing of war threats and began to resemble a fat, hoarse-voiced George Bush before the slaughter of the Iraqis, just as Clinton was going to be victorious over the Serbs, came the cavalry over the hill to save the heroic Serbs: except the "cavalry" was not American, as in the old Western movies, but Russian. Yeltsin roused himself, without a word to his alleged buddy Slick Willie, and sent 400 Russian troops from Croatia to join the UN contingent. The brilliance of the Russian ploy was this: Ostensibly, they were being good New World Orderites and enforcing the NATO order against the Serbs. But *actually*, as everyone quickly realized, Yeltsin was doing just the opposite. He was saving the Serbs' bacon, giving them a face-saving device to go along with their Russian Orthodox friends and cousins, and the Russian troops were interposing their own bodies between Serbs and the itchy-fingered US/NATO air force. For "air strikes" would kill, not only impoverished Serbs, but also Russian troops, and then the entire U.S. foreign policy fat would be in the fire. Not only that: but, in a corollary masterstroke, Yeltsin sent to Sarajevo as his spokesman, the articulate, telegenic Vitaly Churkin, who speaks excellent English, and who has always played well on American television. Publicly, the Americans and the rest of NATO had to thank the Russians for joining them, whereas privately or semi-publicly, they were fuming in hatred and frustration.

Attaboy, Boris! Give 'em Hell! Take the Yankee billions and then make 'em sweat! Returning to his vodka, the (former) Old Bolshevik must have had a big laugh at his victory over his old-time Menshevik-"Western"-CIA tormentors.

Particularly instructive was the reaction of the "gentle" "victimized" Sarajevo Muslims. Did they rejoice at being spared any further shellings? Did they cheer the prospect of peace and a NATO "victory"? Hell, NO! Instead the lovable Muslim ladies in Sarajevo, interviewed by CNN, were griping that the Serbs had gotten off the hook, and complaining that NATO hadn't bombed the Serbs.

It is high time we got one thing straight: there is nothing particularly lovable or gentle about the Bosnian Muslims. This is a recently manufactured liberal/neocon/Official Con/Menshevik myth. During World War II, the supposedly "pro-Nazi" Croats were surpassed in pro-Nazi fervour by these self-same Bosnian Muslims; and these Muslims, when given a chance, have been fully as enthusiastic "ethnic cleansers" as the despised Serbs. In fact, another fascinating little item conveniently overlooked by the Establishment media, from the *New York Times* to CNN: the current civil war in ex-Yugoslavia was launched, *mirabile dictu*, by none other than those peaceful, gentle victims the Bosnian Muslims, who, without provocation, machine-gunned a Serbian Orthodox



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wedding in Bosnia. And yet there have been no Tony Lewis-Bill Safire-Ariel Cohen calls for war crimes trials for the Muslim machine-gunners.

This brings me to a fascinating conundrum that has been overlooked in this entire business: Why is it that our liberal/neocon Establishment, which routinely treats every Muslim as a "fanatic," a "terrorist," and an "anti-Semite," if not also a "blind sheikh," is so gentle and loving toward the Bosnian Muslims? Why are the Bosnians the only Muslims they have ever liked? Why suddenly does the entire U.S. drive for "global democracy" rest on the shoulders of the fanatical Serb-haters of central and eastern Bosnia? Why is it that, come Sarajevo and Gorazde, the fanatic Islamic mullah suddenly becomes transformed into a gentle and peaceful social democrat, struggling to preserve the "territorial integrity" of a "nation" (Bosnia) that has never existed?

Mulling over this puzzle, I realized that, as in the case of the fallacies of Keynesian economics, we have to disaggregate: a "Muslim" is not necessarily a "Muslim." Ethnic and national factors also play key roles.

Disaggregating, then, we find that the Muslims routinely execrated by the U.S. Establishment are not just any old Muslims; there is not much hysteria, for example, directed against Indonesia or Malaya, both staunchly Muslim. Muslim Pakistan, despite its internal political troubles, is routinely hailed as a staunch ally of "the West." In fact, there are only two groups of Muslims habitually reviled by the U.S. opinion-moulding elite: Arabs, and Black Muslims. Arabs have been continually denounced because they have reacted grumpily to their systemic dispossession and oppression by Israel and organized Zionism in the Middle East. It is the "A-rab" Muslims, of course, who are the alleged terrorists, fanatics, anti-Semities, and blind sheiks. (The small number of Christian Arabs, largely dwelling in Palestine and in Lebanon, have been spared Establishment calumny because they have generally been less ardent in resisting Zionism than their Muslim co-ethnics, and the French-oriented Christians in Lebanon have long been the major Arab allies of Israel.) As for the Black Muslims in the United States, they have been bitterly denounced, not because of their theological adherence to Islam, which can only be considered eccentric at best, but rather for their hostility to whitey in general and to Jewish whites in particular.

On the other hand, the Bosnian Muslims have a very different pedigree. When the hated Ottoman Turks invaded Europe in the 14th century and swept westward, these Bosnians, unlike their co-ethnic Slavs and other Christians in the region who fiercely resisted the Turkish Muslim invaders, traitorously "converted" to Islam and thereby won special privileges from their Turkish masters. Perhaps because these Bosnians were crazed Bogomil heretics who were hated by Catholics and Orthodox alike, they converted to Islam and played a "Quisling" role for the Turks, and were therefore cordially detested by the Christians in Europe.

Slowly and painfully over the centuries, nation after nation won their freedom from Turkish rule, until, in the years before World War I, the Turks were finally driven out of most of the Balkans. But still, they remain in a wedge in Europe, and the historic city of Constantinople, renamed "Istanbul" by the Turks, remains in Turkish hands.

And so, when the Bosnian Muslims started feeling their oats, and demanding unitary minority Muslim rule over all of Bosnia, it was not difficult for the Croats and the Serbs, the Macedonians, the Bulgars, and the Greeks, to see in the sudden thrust forward of the Bosnian Muslims the crafty and sinister hand of the Turk. A "conspiracy theory of history"? Not quite, for it is an open secret that the Turks have been the main supporters of the Bosnian Muslims, have sent professional military cadres to train their infantry (the largest in the area, since the Muslims are the most populous group in Bosnia), and have shipped arms to the Bosnian Muslims.

If, then, the Turks are the key



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to the Bosnian Question, what is the attitude of the U.S. Establishment, of liberals neocons/Official Cons, et al toward the Turks? The answer is simple: they *love* the Turks. Why? Turkey has always been staunchly "pro-West," a code term that breaks down into: pro-CIA and pro-Israel. The Turks are part of NATO. They have long been anti-Russian (long before the Soviet Union) and "anti-Communist." They have been pro-CIA and, though Muslim, have been staunchly anti-Arab and pro-Israel. The Arabs, of course, reciprocate this enmity, since Turkish imperialism, until World War I, ruled the Arab world, while Turkish feudal landlords ate up the substance of the Arab peasantry. After World War I, the Turks provided Zionists with their local claims to Palestinian land by "selling" the Zionists the lands occupied and tilled by the Arab peasantry, lands which the Arab peasants justifiably believed were genuinely owned by themselves and not by their hated Turkish conquerors.

Pro-CIA; pro-Israel; a restricted militarist "democracy"; and a cartelized, statist "free market": what else can the U.S. Establishment want? In addition to all that, Turkey appeals to the West because after World War I the monstrous dictator Kemal Ataturk, beloved by the U.S. Establishment, built up the power of the Turkish State and destroyed Islam, and was therefore hailed by Western social democrats as a great "modernizer." So, very much like the Bosnian Muslims, who are urban secularist with very little interest in Islam. The Turks, since Ataturk, have been traitors to the Muslim faith.

**The Turks practiced genocidal "ethnic cleansing" on a mammoth scale.**

Possessing all these qualities that endear them to the U.S. Establishment, other even less lovely aspects of modern Turkey get swept under the rug. For example, most of eastern Turkey has been peopled by non-Turks groaning under Turkish imperial despotism. Long before the Serbs in 1991, the Turks practiced genocidal "ethnic cleansing" on a mammoth scale. In the early years of World War I, the Turks genocidally and systematically massacred the Armenians who peopled northeastern Turkey. Not only have the Turks never apologized for this first twentieth-century Holocaust, let alone made restitution to the Armenians, they have not even acknowledged the fact of the Armenian Holocaust. They have been blatant "Holocaust deniers." Have the Turks been attacked for this monstrous deed by all the liberal and neo-con pundits? By the Lewises and the Safires et al.? To ask that question is to answer it. Every couple of years, an Armenian-American group puts a little ad in the paper demanding that the Turks acknowledge their guilt, the Turks dismiss the whole thing as obscure wartime troubles, an anti-Turk resolution is introduced into Congress, a resolution which never gets anywhere. In the Cold War days, the Establishment answer was that the Turks are too important to the Cold War against the evil Commies to bother about ancient history. And now? Well who knows? But no resolution ever gets passed.

Why, then, do the Armenian-Americans, who far outnumber the tiny handful of Turks in America, never get anywhere? Is the combined power of the CIA and Zionism too much for them?

In addition to the Armenians, who are Christians, we should not ignore the systemic oppression and crushing of the Muslim Kurds, who populate southeastern Turkey. The Turks, while ostentatiously helping the U.S. embarrass Saddam Hussein by aiding the Kurds in Iraq, at the same time continued to oppress the far more numerous



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Kurds living in Turkey, people whose very existence the Turks deny. Thus, Turks habitually refer to the poor Kurds as "mountain Turks" speaking not Kurdish but some mountain dialect of Turkish. In a pig's eye.

The Turkish question brings me to the much-maligned but heroic Vladimir Zhirinovsky, good old "V.Z." First, I am convinced that without the goad of V.Z.'s electoral victory, Yeltsin would never have roused himself from his vodka-soaked stupor, alienate his "Western" masters, and assert Russian nationalism and their age-old friendship with the embattled Serbs. It was the spectre of V.Z. that forced Yeltsin to move toward Russian nationalism and assert Russian interests. Secondly, Ariel Cohen of the Heritage Foundation has translated excerpts from V.Z.'s campaign autobiography, and it is clear to me that, rather than being Satanically evil, V.Z. was reasserting a truly Russian foreign policy, and in particular his desire to reawaken Russia's historic drive toward the south, toward a warm-water port in the Mediterranean and to move against Islam in general and Turkey in particular. V.Z. wishes to reassert the old Russian yen to protect the Serbs and South Slavs, and to end once and for all the Turkish menace, and, who knows? Perhaps to right the great wrong of 1453, to drive the Turks at long last out of Europe, to put an end to the trumpery of "Istanbul" and to restore the glories of "Constantinople."

And if Mother Russia is to champion Orthodox Christianity, get a warm water port, turn Istanbul into Constantinople, and wreak justice upon the Turks, why in the world should Uncle Sam stand in its way? ■

*American Spy in Washington*

## Calling All Conservatives!

### by Joseph Sobran

I often try to amuse people by inviting them to imagine any of our current politicians trying to hold a conversation with any of the framers of the Constitution. What would Dan Rostenkowski say to James Madison? It would be like Al Capone talking to Plato.

But you expect a certain vulgarity from elected officials. What's more depressing is trying to imagine a conversation between the framers and current members of the Supreme Court. Such a chat would offer less crudity, but more dishonesty. Consider a recent encounter between two of those members and a Senate committee.

Justices Anthony Kennedy and David Souter, presenting the Court's proposed annual budget to the Senate Appropriations Committee, have virtually pleaded for defeat of pending federal anti-crime legislation. Kennedy said that the tough-guy legislation, popular with pols of both parties, would turn the federal judicial system into overworked "police courts."

Conservatives and Republicans have been complaining for a generation about the power-hungry "activist" judiciary usurping legislative power. So how come the Court (we can assume that Kennedy and Souter were speaking for their colleagues) doesn't welcome the new powers it would enjoy under the tough new laws?

And–the more interesting question–if the court doesn't welcome those powers, why not just wait a bit and strike down the proposed laws as unconstitutional? After all, conservatives (including me) have often accused the Court of finding unconstitutionality in any laws it doesn't happen to like. Yet neither justice suggested that the get-tough laws would violate the Constitution. What gives?

After all, violent crime has always been a state concern, not a federal one. If the Tenth Amendment means anything, it means that such matters should be reserved to the states.

Then again, the Tenth Amendment *doesn't* mean anything. It hasn't meant anything since 1940, when the Court, staffed with Rossevelt flunkeys, ruled that it merely "states a truism" and adds nothing to the rest of the Constitution. Until then, the Tenth had haunted Roosevelt, because it had



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always been understood as confirming the presumption that the federal government may exercise only those powers the Constitution gives it more or less expressly. Which, of course, meant that most New Deal legislation usurped powers reserved to the states and the people.

Roosevelt wanted to establish the opposite presumption: that the federal government has the right to exercise any power not expressly *forbidden* to it by the Constitution. He never said this, of course, but it can be inferred from the whole course of his presidency, and nobody doubts it. However, he preferred to pretend that the powers he sought could all be exercised under a broadened reading of the Interstate Commerce clause, wherein Congress is given power to regulate commerce among the states. This turned out to mean that just about *all* commerce was interstate commerce, even raising food on your own land for local sale, and in time even more absurd readings of the clause were handed down by the Court. By now an activity can be said to fall under the clause because it merely "affects" interstate commerce.

Thus the interstate Commerce clause has been made to supersede the rest of the Constitution. The part has swallowed the whole. And as Congress, over the next few decades, asserted unprecedented new powers, it routinely invoked the clause in order to do so.

And never has the Court said: "Whoa! The Interstate Commerce clause can't be logically, historically, or reasonably construed to mean *that*!" The clause has meant whatever Congress has wanted it to mean. Which amounts to saying that everything Congress chooses to do is constitutional. Which is very nearly what the Court has held.

**The Court tells the states they can't keep their *traditional* powers, while allowing Congress to grab innumerable *new* powers.**

In other words, this notoriously "activist" Supreme Court has been, as far as Congress is concerned, almost totally *passive*. It hasn't earned its naughty reputation for usurping legislative power. On the contrary. Since Roosevelt, it has abandoned the role assigned to it from *The Federalist* to the latest civics book: it has been anything but a "check" on Congress. The legislation it strikes down is almost exclusively state legislation—on race, sex, obscenity, abortion, and other "social" issues. These cases cause a lot of uproar, as they should, but they create the false impression that the Court is performing its function of reining in the legislative branch of government. It isn't.

What distinguishes state legislatures is that they can't fight back against the *federal* judiciary, as Congress can. The idea of checks and balances has no application to these cases; what it comes to is that the Court tells the states they can't keep their *traditional* powers, while allowing Congress to grab innumerable *new* power.

After all, Congress, as noted above, appropriates money for the Court. It can also refuse money. It can also limit the Court's jurisdiction. It can also impeach members of the Court. The Court has no reciprocal power over Congress. So, naturally, the Court has acquired a very deep respect for the wishes of Congress, especially since the bruising New Deal Era.

Result? Very simple: increased federal power. As Congress keeps claiming new powers, without resistance from the Court, the states lose their old powers—stripped of them by the selfsame Court. Both ways, actively *and* passively, the federal judiciary regularly assists the aggrandizement of the federal government.

Roosevelt's revolution in the Court, though not unnoticed,



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is an underrated part of his whole horrible achievement. To this day nobody who challenges his legacy can be confirmed to the Court. The confirmation fights over Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas were needlessly bitter, because neither of them was about to break the great taboo and say what really needed to be said: that the great majority of the laws passed by Congress since 1933 are in violation of the U.S. Constitution. And by now the accumulated mass of bad laws is such that the framers would surely say that the U.S. Government as we know it is illegitimate.

As for the legislation at hand, any of the framers of the Constitution would have said bluntly that the new anti-crime laws would usurp the few remaining powers of the states, if it still matters. But none of our Supreme Court justices is about to say such a thing to Congress; that would be asking for trouble! So, instead of asserting a principle and challenging power, the two justices merely begged Congress not to increase their workload too much.

Sometimes I think the conservative movement may as well just disband. There isn't much left to conserve. ■

## Hillary's "Health Care": Shafting the Elderly

**by M. N. R.**

All too often, in this "land of the free," you have to read the British press to find out what's going on in American politics. And so we are all indebted to the London *Sunday Times*, which sent an "Insight" investigating team to Little Rock and to Iowa, and discovered rotten hanky-panky by Hillary & Company. Technically, apparently, the actions of the Rose Law team were not illegal, but they were certainly immoral and corrupt, and at the expense of the elderly as well as the taxpayers. [See "Big Trouble at Little Rock", London *Sunday Times*, Feb. 13]. As the *Sunday Times* points out, Hillary, the Health Care czar, likes to denounce private health care firms for "price gouging and unconscionable profiteering," but this is exactly what Hillary and her crew did in the fascinating case of the Iowa Nursing Home Caper.

**You have to read the British press to find out what's going on in American politics.**

First, to set the stage, the powerful Little Rock Rose Law firm was dominated, during the 1980s, by a clique of four law partners, known as The Four Musketeers. They included Hillary, who joined the firm in 1977 while Slick Willie was Attorney-General of Arkansas, and soon to be Governor. Hillary, who became a partner in 1979, was known, not affectionately, as The Dragon Lady, for her ferocious temper and her propensity for empire-building. Hillary, though technically a litigator was rarely in court, and was known as the "rainmaker," the partner who brought in the deals. The rain was undoubtedly kept well-watered by the fact that Hillary's hubby was the Governor. The other Three Musketeers were: Webster ("Webb") Hubbell, the "fixer," and now The Power in the Department of Justice; the tough, "abrasive," "aggressive" William Kennedy III, now associate White House counsel, No. 3 legal counsel to the President; and the unfortunate Vince Foster, always personally close to the Clintons, the quiet brains of the Rose Law firm, and its "clean-up man," who was installed as deputy White House counsel, No. 2 to the White House behind Hillary's old friend Bernard Nussbaum.

A typical example of how the Four Musketeers plus



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Governor Slick Willie operated: in June 1981, the Rose firm got a $1 million tax-free loan from a fund set up shortly before by Governor Clinton, to refurbish the Rose Law offices. This action was attacked by Arkansas Judge Harkey, who commented, "Hell, they were in effect using public money to decorate Hillary's office."

Enter the Nursing Home Scam. In 1989, Beverly Enterprises, the largest nursing home owner in the country (845 homes totaling 91,000 beds), was in financial difficulty. They had loaded up a debt of $850 million, and they needed to sell off some nursing homes to relieve their burden. Beverly Enterprises was controlled by the famed Stephens Inc., instrument of the Stephens family, the big power in Little Rock and major long-time contributors to the Clinton campaigns for office. Beverly was one of Rose Law firm's largest accounts, and their William Kennedy III set out to make a deal.

Kennedy found a failed Texas banker and long-time operator named Bruce Whitehead, and proceeded to construct a complex, highly profitable deal for both parties. The deal was this: Beverly sold 45 of its nursing homes in Iowa to Whitehead's company, Ventana Investments. Whitehead had taken over a shell charity called Mercy Health Initiatives so that he could use Mercy's non-profit status to get highly preferential treatment from the Iowa State Finance Authority.

The 1989 value of the 45 nursing homes was later established by an Iowa judge as $47 million. But Whitehead, on behalf of Mercy Health, told the Iowa Finance Authority that he needed $86 million to buy the homes. He strongly hinted to the Iowa authorities that, if they failed to come up with the money, Mercy would have to close the homes, and the old folks would be out on the street. Swayed by the carrot of Mercy's non-profit status and the stick of old folks out in the snow, the Iowa State Finance Authority issued $86 million in tax-exempt bonds, plus an extra sweetener of $6 million in promissory notes for fees to Whitehead and associates.

The deal went through in August 1989. Beverly sold the 45 nursing homes, worth $47 million, to Ventana for $57 million. Beverly was delighted at the deal, acquiring cash plus a $10 million profit. The Rose Law firm has kept mum about its fee for this transaction, but knowledgeable attorneys estimate that the firm got about $500,000, of which Hillary's share would have been about $15,000.

Ventana, run by Whitehead, then turned around immediately and sold the homes to Whitehead-controlled non-profit Mercy Health for $63.5 million. This gave Whitehead an immediate profit of $6.5 million. In addition, $2.3 million was granted as an annual income to another Whitehead-owned company for actually running the nursing homes, and Whitehead got a still further bonus of $1.8 million for his personal services, as well as a $5 million contract for a Whiteheadian construction company. A total of $15-$16 million beamed in Bruce Whitehead's direction.

Our shell non-profit, Mercy Health, which owned but was not paid for running the nursing homes, was now left with a $92 million loan from the State of Iowa, paying a hefty annual interest ranging from 9.7% to 9.95%. By 1991, the Iowa tax assessors concluded that Mercy Health did not deserve its tax-free status. Soon afterward, Whitehead divested himself of Mercy Health, which was now left to deal with the huge debt.

The *Sunday Times* estimates that the actual cost to the patients of nursing home care rose by 14% in order to handle the huge debt. Iowa Judge Gene Needles denounced the transaction, terming the debts "unconscionable" and the costs "excessive." Roy Drew, an independent stock analyst in Little Rock, who used to be an investment adviser for Rose Law firm, and who has embarked on a one-man anti-corruption crusade in Arkansas, describes the entire deal as a "white collar mugging." "Muggers": Beverly Enterprises and the Stephens family; the Rose Law firm, especially the Four Muske-



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teers; and entrepreneur Bruce Whitehead. Muggees: the taxpayers of Iowa and the patients in the nursing homes.

How's *that* for Hillary Health Care in action? A harbinger for the whole country?

So delighted were the Muggers with this little transaction that they decided on a quick follow-up. Why not bring the delights of Iowa to good old Arkansas? The following month, September 1989, the same cast of characters: The Rose Law firm, Beverly Enterprises, and Bruce Whitehead tried to pull the same stunt in Arkansas. The deal: that Beverly would sell 32 nursing homes in Arkansas to another shell non-profit set up by the indefatigable Whitehead, to be financed by $81 million in tax-exempt bonds to be issued by the Arkansas Development Financial Authority. Whitehead was set for another quick $4 million profit from this scheme. Conditions seemed great, what with Slick Willie himself as Governor. However, everything unraveled when the Arkansas Attorney-General publicly charged that he was offered a $100,000 bribe to stop opposing the plan. Amidst the ensuing brouhaha, Whitehead challenged the head of the Arkansas Financial Authority, who opposed the scheme, to the modern Arkansas equivalent of a duel. Finally, Slick Willie was forced to kill the plan, muttering that "Ah feel bad" about the plan.

As more and more Americans begin to think the unthinkable about impeaching Slick Willie, the Clintonian counter is that all of his alleged peccadilloes, sexual and financial, took place *before* (sometimes very soon before) his accession to the Presidency. But who decreed some sort of moral statute of limitations? Let us never forget that Vice-President Spiro Agnew, whose Maryland shenanigans seem lovable by contrast, was forced to resign for activities before he had risen to the post of Vice-President.

During and after the 1992 campaign, all we kept hearing were the glories of "change," of Clinton's commitment to "change," of Willie as "change-agent." Well, why don't we give *him* a change, and ship the whole sleazy crew of white trash-turned-yuppie back to Little Rock? ■

## Wiretapping the Public

**by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.**

J. Edgar Hoover warned Congress against turning the FBI into a national police force. Yet somehow, when we weren't looking, that's exactly what happened. Now this armed bureaucracy is asking Congress for permission to monitor every electronic communication in the country.

The "Feebies," as they are known unaffectionately to local police, plan to charge us half a billion dollars for the privilege. The expensive software will allow them to gather an impressive amount of personal information on us, including telephone calling patterns, credit cards transactions, electronic mail, faxes, and every other piece of business conducted over a cable.

FBI director Charles Freeh claims the government doesn't want to spy on us. No sir. It merely wants to catch criminals, terrorists, and other assorted public enemies. For this "security" and "safety," we should be glad to give up "a measure" of our personal privacy.

Typical of our fibbing government, his bill is called the "Privacy Improvement Act of 1994." When an interviewer asked him about privacy, Freeh said: "I understand the privacy concern. My real objective is to get access to the content of telephone calls." What a relief.

Vice President Al Gore warns about a society divided between the "information haves" and the "information have nots." Now we know what he means. The public has information and the government wants it. Parents make their children hang up when they listen in, but we're supposed to let Janet Reno pick up on a federal extension.

The FBI's bill is in addition to traditional eavesdropping,



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which the FBI and the Justice Department want to facilitate with the "clipper chip," to be installed in all phones and computers, it will encode a "back door" into every transmission, through which the Feebies can enter at will.

The President hasn't proposed that federal two-way televisions be installed in every home, so he can exhort us at the beginning of the day (Big Bubba?). And not even Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders has urged that a scent sensor be included, to check if we've been smoking. Those innovations would be in the spirit of the legislation, however.

When the personal computer came of age, George Gilder told us it would be a boon to individual liberty. It would put information, the "capital" of our new technology-driven economy, outside the government's reach. Central bureaucracies would be at a loss to regulate and plan, and free markets would rule again.

But governments never give up power voluntary. Their permanent mode is expansion and control. And when the market generates new technology, governments use it to their own advantage.

For this reason, people and organizations that have come to rely on a vast and growing network of electronic communications have drawn a line in cyberspace. They are fighting the administration on this one, as Congress has already learned from faxes and mail.

Proposals such as Mr. Freeh's call on us to review the meaning of the word totalitarian. It not only describes the Soviet and similar regimes. It refers to any attempt by the central state to monitor and control every aspect of our lives, from forcing condoms on our kids to monitoring our personal finances to listening in on our telephone and e-mail conversations.

The Clinton administration thinks nothing of trashing sacred liberties, shredding ancient tenets of Western legal codes, and violating every American tradition.

But I've got a better idea. How about a new cable channel called White House TV? Around the clock, it would monitor the Oval Office, Hillary's den, Ira Magaziner's lair, and every other public space.

**I've got a better idea. How about a new cable channel called White House TV?**

The cameras would follow Bill on his jogs, in his limo, and even into the kitchen. The exchanges between Bill and Hillary that we hear so much about would be particularly interesting.

We need wiretaps all over the White House, the Old Executive Office Building, the offices of Janet Reno, Donna Shalala, and all the other cabinet ministers. The public pays for it. They should be able to listen in.

What about "classified" information, you ask? Who are we afraid of? The Bosnian Serbs? The American people fork over a trillion and a half bucks a year to support the leviathan in the style to which it's become accustomed. We should at least, in return, be able to know what it's doing to us. ■

## The Recycling Myth

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

At the height of the late-80s green hysteria, the legislature of Suffolk County, New York, jumped into the environmental swamp (or should I say wetland?) and banned all plastic food containers.

Scalding-hot paper cups of herbal tea in hand, left-liberals all over the country toasted the dawn of the eco-millennium. Government would force producers to pay out billions for the new prohibi-



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tionism, and make guilt-ridden consumers use less desirable products as an act of homage to the earth goddess.

Six years later, a somewhat saner Suffolk legislature quietly repealed the ban. It turns out that nobody was able to find acceptable substitutes for the hated plastic. And the supposed problem of plastic-gorged landfills turned out to be another case of green panic-mongering. As garbage archaeologists at the University of Arizona showed, plastics take up much less landfill space than, say, telephone books. And then it turns out that there's no landfill crisis, only an artificial shortage caused by timid officials.

In the meantime, Suffolk says it will encourage recycling. But this is just shellac (made from sauteed bugs, by the way) on a policy failure. The point was not lost on left-wing legislator Nora Bredes, who pouted to the *New York Times* that the ban "needed to be expanded, not repealed."

For more than a decade, the environmental movement invested heavily in the anti-garbage cause. Greens dreamed of a day when government would prevent people from consuming new resources. Left-wing academic journals featured circular-flow models of recycling, with a perpetual garbage-in-garbage-out cycle.

This made neither economic nor social sense, since most recycling *consumes* resources. Not all the greenies believed their more extreme claims, of course, but all of them saw recycling as a way of involving the public in their cause, as Patricia Poore, editor of *Garbage* magazine, recently admitted. There is no "garbage crisis," Ms. Poore said. "Recycling as a government-mandated garbage-management concept has largely failed."

Those who are conned or forced into separating their garbage are better prospects for environmental fund-raising, however, and for supporting extremist legislation. It's also a great way to indoctrinate children into greenthink.

Looked at rationally, however, recycling is a coercive mandate that forces us to re-consume our own solid-waste products. And in the business world, recycling squanders money that is desperately needed for new investment.

Even a pro-mandate study in 1990 by the National Conference of State Legislatures admitted that recycling is inherently limited because of low consumer demand, product contamination, transportation problems, and technological limits. That's hardly surprising: who wants to consume dirty trash when new resources are available?

Solid waste is not a special kind of product, immune from economic law. It's no different from any other good in society. Its use, reuse, and disposal can be governed by supply and demand. The market price system—not government bureaucrats—should inform us of what to use, and how much. When a good goes up in price, we use less of it. When it goes down in price, we use more. This is the way resources are allocated in a free society.

So it is with used products. If there is a demand for garbage, producers would gladly supply it. If bottlers find old bottles useful, fine; they will buy them from consumers. If newspaper companies want old newspapers, they'd buy them back.

Herein lies the dirty secret of recycling. If it were economically wise, we would not need to be browbeaten. It would be profitable.

In an attempt to overcome this fact, advocates of bans and recycling become totalitarians. In a 1990 book called *Waste Management: Towards a Sustainable Society,* authors O.P. Kharbanda and E.A. Stallworthy complained about every modern convenience, from automobiles to skyscrapers, from aluminum foil to disposable syringes. "There is no real need for waste of this type," they write. Oh, yeah? No real American will live like a primitive, no matter what the propaganda.

Besides, it has taken thousands of years for us to develop the sophisticated disposal methods of today. Instead of making use of this technology, the greens wants us to join their earth religion, where trees have souls,



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empty lots are sacred, and the life of every bug is precious, indeed, more valuable than human life.

That's why we should celebrate every green defeat, as in Suffolk County. And we should do our own toasting, with a plastic champagne glass, of course. Here's to the institution of the landfill: stuffed with styrofoam coffee cups, disposable diapers, and other used-up servants of mankind. It is a mark of an advanced civilization. ■

## P.C. Watch

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

### I Love New York in June, How About You?

Reputed lesbian Janet Reno is lifting the ban on foreign visitors with HIV for Gay Games IV in New York in June. This gathering, says its "Athlete Registration Book," will allow homosexual athletes, who have been "ostracized from sports and society," to experience the "thrill and pride" of the Olympics.

**Has the participant emotionally and psychologically transitioned into the desired gender role?**

But what if you're "gender-transitioning"? To be treated according to your "chosen gender," you must supply the following:

"1. Proof of a completed legal name change to match the desired gender role." 2. Letter from a physician stating that the "participant has been actively involved in hormone treatment for a minimum of two full years without any time lapse. 3. Letter from a professional mental-health therapist stating that the participant has been actively involved in psychotherapy for a minimum of 18 months. The letter must also explain that this participant has emotionally and psychologically transitioned into the desired gender role and why it would be impossible or severely detrimental for this individual to participate in his or her biologically born gender.

"All individuals will have right to appeal an adverse decision to the Board Gender Identification Committee." (*Harper's*, 3/94)

### Carry Me Out of New Virginny

The Virginia state song, "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," has been banned by the House of Delegates as "offensive" to blacks, at the request of black Democratic delegate William P. Robinson, Jr.

The song, written by black singer James Bland in 1878, had already been modernized, with Virginny changed to Virginia, and "der" and "de" replaced with "there" and "the." But it still referred to an ex-slave who had moved North and wanted to return. Virginia was the place "where this old darky's heart am long'd to go," to the fields of "cotton and corn and 'taters" where he worked for "old Massa."

Robinson read a letter he received about his comment that he hated the song, and that was said to have influenced other legislators to vote his way: "Too bad, jerk, then move to another state. You people have ruined Virginia. No wonder all decent Virginians have switched to the Republican Party. We're sick of minorities constantly complaining." (*Washington Times*, 3/4/94)

### Howard's End?

The African-American Business Association has filed suit with the FCC to stop Infinity Broadcasting Corporation from buying WPGC near Washington, D.C., and airing the "Howard Stern Show." The FCC has temporarily held up the sale, in response to the AABA's complaint that Stern "spews racist filth." Particularly mentioned were the "names he said African-Americans called their children, like 'Sy Fillis' and "Dumberta.'" (*Washington*



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*Post*, 3/4/94)

### Clinton a "Homophobe"?

After President Clinton told high schoolers that AIDS is usually spread by dopers exchanging infected needles and by "unsafe sex, primarily homosexual sex," he was denounced by AIDS activists.

Wayne Turner of the gay group ACT-UP said "Clinton is feeding the fires of ignorance and homophobia," which have "wiped out an entire generation of gay men. Gay sex doesn't spread AIDS," said Turner, "Slick Willie's lies do." ACT-UP called for a Clinton apology "before his fellow Christian activists use his remarks in their attack against the gay community." (*WT*, 2/5/94)

### The Pharaoh

"Ivory Coast Buries Its Father of Freedom," read the headline in the *New York Times*. Seven thousands mourners filled the Basilica of Our Lady of Peace of Yamoussoukro, the largest church in the world, built by the dead president of the Ivory Coast, Felix Houphouet-Boigny. The funeral itself, said the *Times*, was "rooted spiritually somewhere between the brutal competitiveness of Western commerce and the brilliantly complex and often mystical culture of ancient Africa."

For example, "like the Egyptian pharaohs," chiefs of Houphouet-Boigny's Baoule tribe are "traditionally buried with tools, memories, and—it is widely rumored, even friends and relatives—they treasured in life." Houphouet-Boigny is "no exception," but his family has "declined to say" if anyone was killed and buried with him. "Indeed, it is considered the height of rudeness to even pose questions about the custom." (2/8/94)

### Mintz Meat

The run-off for the New Orleans mayoralty featured Marc Morial, a black state senator and son of a previous mayor, and Donald Mintz, a "Jewish lawyer with strong ties to the black community." Mintz was leading until two widely distributed "racist, anti-Semitic flyers" were traced to the Mintz campaign. The most common flyer, headlined "Let's Make Mintz Meat & Molasses," had a photo of Mintz and Nelson Mandela and read: "Stop the Colored/Jew Coalition" and "Say Never to Jungle Apes & Christ Killers." (*NYT*, 2/27/94) ■

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